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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1893.

COMPARISON OF TWO ACADIAN FRENCH DIALECTS SPOKEN IN the north-east of North America with the Franco-Canadian dialect spoken at Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Pro- vince of Quebec.¹

I.

SINCE the appearance of Professor Sheldon's article, "Some Specimens of a Canadian French Dialect Spoken in Maine," deprinted from *Transactions and Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. iii, 1887, pp. 210-18, following Professor Elliott's series of articles on Canada and the language,* interest in French dialects spoken on this continent has shown itself by the appearance in 1888 of Professor Squair's paper mentioned above; of Professor Chamberlain's article² and very useful bibliography, part ii, *Dialect Notes*, 1890; of Professor Fortier's article, "The Acadians of Louisiana," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. vi, 1891; and of Professor Chamberlain's articles, "Notes on the Canadian French Dialect of Granby, P. Q.," *MOD. LANG. NOTES*, Jan., 1892, and the "Canadian French Dialect of Granby, Phonetics," Jan., 1893.

Having spent some time among the Acadians on the north coast of the Baie des Chaleurs at the town of Carleton (former ancient name Tracadiegash) and also at Cheticamp on the north-west coast of Cape Breton Island, and having taken as accurate notes as possible on the popular language spoken in these remote and somewhat isolated settlements, it seemed to me worth while, as being a step toward showing the similarity and the difference in the phonology and phraseology of these dialects, to give a comparison of some of these

¹ Examined in 1888 by Professor Squair of the University of Toronto; published in *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, and also separately printed, entitled: "A Contribution to the Study of the Franco-Canadian Dialect."

* In *American Journal of Philology*. See "Table of References," end of present article.

² "Dialect Research in Canada."

features, with those of some American French dialect already investigated in some of the above named articles.

I take first for comparison the results obtained by Professor Squair to whose courtesy I owe a copy of his work at Ste. Anne de Beaupré.

As the dialect variations continually relate to more than the particular vowel or consonant under discussion in Professor Squair's lists, there is no other way, as far as I know, by which the differences existing between the three dialects can be made so approximately accurate and clear as by recording the pronunciation of each word in the Acadian dialects phonetically. Of course, Professor Squair's lists and headings are cited textually, exactly as he published them, and for ease of comparison, I have placed his Canadian word-list between my Acadian lists. It must be kept in mind, however, that excepting the particular vowel or consonant discussed by Professor Squair in any one word, it is in many cases impossible to be positive whether the rest of his word agrees exactly or not with the same word recorded in the dialects examined by myself. By cross references to where he may have noticed the same word two or three times, such points may in some cases be cleared up, but it must be obvious that scientific accuracy can be approximately secured only by seeing the entire word written phonetically.

The sound notation here used with the exception of *h* (Spanish *jota*)³ is identical with that used by Professor Sheldon in his article above referred to:

VOWELS: a, Fr. *pas*; â, J. *law*; á, Fr. *rat*; â, Fr. *an*, *ex*; æ, E. *hat*; æ, Fr. *in*; é, Fr. *dé*; è, Fr. *tête*; ê, nasal of *é*; ë, Fr. *de*; i, Fr. *ní*; ÿ, E. *pín*; ó, Fr. *pot*; ò, Fr. *tort*; ô, Fr. *on*; õ, Fr. *peu* (rare); õ, more closed than Fr. *peu* (õ, as in Fr. *peur*, rarely heard); õ, Fr. *un*; u, Fr. *tout*; ü, E. *pull*; ü, Fr. *lune*.

CONSONANTS: b, Fr. *bout*; d, Fr. *dent*; f, Fr. *faux*; g, Fr. *gros*; h, Fr. *honte* h, Sp. *jefe*; k, Fr. *car*; l, Fr. *long*; m, Fr. *mot*; n, Fr. *ni*;

³ *Phonetisch Studien*, iii, Band, 1890, pp. 339-40.

ñ, Fr. enseignement; p, Fr. *pas*; r, Fr. *rond*; lingual; s, Fr. *si*; š, Fr. *champ*; t, Fr. *tas*; v, Fr. *vent*; w, Fr. *oui*; y, Fr. *yole*; z, Fr. *zèle*; ž, Fr. *joue*.

The numbers of the lists and the first heading is quoted from Professor Squair's "Contribution" and apply naturally only to his word list.

The comments made below these headings by way of comparison are my own.

"(1) (a, â in this list pronounced like *a* in E. *hat*").

In regard to the *a* in question in Professor Squair's list, to the best of my observation, the Carleton and Cheticamp sound in most of these same words seems to me to be rather the *a* in Passy's *rat*, *patte*,⁴ than that of the E. *a* in *hat*;⁵ however, I was often in doubt, and, perhaps, in some words where I have noted *a* the more nearly correct notation should be *æ*.⁵

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
1 <i>alé</i>	<i>aller</i>	<i>alé</i>
2 <i>aršé</i>	<i>archet</i>	<i>aršé</i>
3 <i>ardæ</i>	<i>ardent</i> ⁶	<i>ardæ</i>
4 { <i>æržæ</i> (f)	<i>argent</i> ⁶	{ <i>æržæ</i> (f)
{ <i>aržæ</i> (f)		{ <i>aržæ</i> (f)
5 { <i>ærpæ</i>	<i>arpent</i> ⁶	{ <i>ærpæ</i>
{ <i>arpæ</i>		{ <i>arpæ</i>
6 { <i>æriért</i>	<i>arriere</i> ⁷	{ <i>æriért</i>
{ <i>ariér</i>		{ <i>ariér</i>
7 <i>âtâšé</i> ⁸	<i>attacher</i>	<i>âtâšé</i> ⁸
8 <i>bágáž</i>	<i>bagage</i>	<i>bágáž</i>
9 <i>bág</i>	<i>bague</i>	<i>bág</i>
10 <i>bâlè</i>	<i>balai</i> ⁹	<i>bâlè</i>
11 <i>bâtèm</i>	<i>baptême</i>	<i>bâtèm</i>
12 <i>bâri</i>	<i>baril</i>	<i>bâri</i>
13 <i>bât</i>	<i>battre</i>	<i>bât</i>
14 <i>kabàrè</i>	<i>cabaret</i>	<i>kabàrè</i>
15 <i>kášé</i>	<i>cacher</i>	<i>kášé</i>
16 <i>káfé</i>	<i>café</i>	<i>káfé</i>
17 <i>kāž</i>	<i>cage</i>	<i>kāž</i>
18 <i>kānāl</i>	<i>canal</i>	<i>kānāl</i>
19 <i>kān</i>	<i>canne</i>	<i>kān</i>
20 <i>kānō</i>	<i>canon</i>	<i>kānō</i> ¹⁰

⁴ 'Les sons du français,' 3d. edition, p. 80, 5°.

⁵ Cf. Professor Sheldon's remark on æ and â, p. 2, "Specimens."

⁶ Cf. Professor Squair's remark under (17).

⁷ Cf. his (12), no. 5.

⁸ Cf. M. Napoléon Legendre's remark in regard to this *a* on p. 132 of the work mentioned in note no. 39, and see his example; this, of course, applies to Canadian French.

⁹ Cf. Jônain's *airière*.

¹⁰ *âmaré*, Fr. *amarver* is far more usual in all senses.

¹¹ Cf. Prof. Squair's list (5), no. 4.

¹² A suspicion of ñ however; perhaps *kānōñ*.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
21 <i>káp</i>	<i>cap</i>	<i>káp</i>
22 <i>káraktèr</i>	<i>caractère</i> ¹¹	<i>káraktèr</i>
23 <i>kāròt</i>	<i>carotte</i>	<i>kāròt</i>
24 <i>kárt</i>	<i>carte</i>	<i>kárt</i>
25 <i>káskyèt</i>	<i>casquette</i>	<i>kástšèt</i> ¹²
26 { <i>šæpó</i>	<i>chapeau</i>	{ <i>šápó</i>
{ <i>šápó</i>		{ <i>šápó</i>
27 <i>šaržé</i>	<i>charger</i>	<i>šaržé</i>
28 <i>šèrité</i> ¹³	<i>charite</i>	<i>šarité</i>
29 <i>šas</i>	<i>chasse</i>	<i>šas</i>
30 <i>šat</i>	<i>chatte</i>	<i>šat</i>
31 <i>šátimæ</i> ¹⁴	<i>chatiment</i> † ¹⁵	<i>šátimæ</i> ¹⁴
32 <i>dū</i> "black"	<i>cirage</i>	<i>širáž</i>
33 <i>klákyé</i>	<i>claquer</i>	<i>klátšé</i>
34 <i>kōpāñi</i>	<i>compagnie</i>	<i>kōpāñi</i>
35 <i>kōpâtir</i>	<i>compâtir</i>	<i>kōpâtir</i>
36 <i>dām</i>	<i>dame</i>	<i>dām</i>
37 <i>dézâšt</i> ¹⁶	<i>désastre</i>	<i>dézâšt</i> ¹⁶
38 <i>détâšmæ</i>	<i>détachment</i> ¹⁵	<i>détâšmæ</i>
39 <i>ékārlāt</i>	<i>écarlate</i>	<i>ékārlāt</i>
40 <i>ékārté</i>	<i>écarter</i>	<i>ékārté</i>
41 <i>ékláté</i>	<i>éclater</i>	<i>ékláté</i>
42 <i>égāl</i> ¹⁷	<i>égal</i>	<i>égāl</i> ¹⁷
43 <i>ābrasé</i>	<i>embrasser</i>	<i>ābrasé</i>
44 <i>āgāhé</i> (cf. list 3, no. 33)	<i>engager</i>	<i>āgāhé</i> (cf. list 3, no. 33)
45 <i>arāb</i> ¹⁸	<i>érable</i>	<i>arāb</i> ¹⁸
46 <i>èškālyé(f)</i> ¹⁹	<i>escalier</i>	<i>èškālyé</i> ¹⁹ (m, f)
47 <i>èsklāv</i>	<i>esclave</i>	<i>èsklāv</i>
48 <i>étāb</i> ¹⁸	<i>étale</i>	<i>étāb</i> ¹⁸
49 <i>étāž</i> (f)	<i>étage</i>	<i>étāž</i> (m, f)
50 <i>fāb</i> ¹⁸	<i>fable</i>	{ <i>fāb</i> ¹⁸ and
		{ <i>fāb</i>
51 <i>fās</i>	<i>face</i>	<i>fās</i>
52 <i>filās</i>	<i>filasse</i>	<i>filās</i>
53 <i>fōsé, †</i> (Fr. <i>fesser</i>)	<i>frapper</i>	<i>fōsé†</i>
54 <i>frōmāž</i> ²⁰	<i>fromage</i>	<i>fōrmāž</i> ²⁰
55 <i>gāž</i> (f)	<i>gage</i>	<i>gāž</i> (m)

¹¹ Cf. Prof. Squair's list (12), no. 7, and foot note.

¹² Cf. Prof. Sheldon's no. 23, *išél*=Fr. *quel*, and his numbers 24 and 25 of "Specimens."

¹³ Perhaps influenced by *šèr*, Fr. *cher*.

¹⁴ In Carleton and Cheticamp this *â* corresponds regularly to Fr. *â*. I know of but one exception: *bâtimæ*=Fr. *bitiment*, but cf. Prof. Squair's list 2, no. 8.

¹⁵ Cf. Prof. Squair's no. 17. † And also Prof. Chamberlain's comment on the word in MOD. LANG. NOTES, Jan., 1892, "Granby Dialect," p. 31, no. 5.

¹⁶ Cf. Beyer und Passy, 'Das gesprochene Französisch,' p. 87, §19, and note 2 (Cüthem, 1893); also Passy, 'Les sons du Français,' p. 101, §190 (3d. edition, 1892).

¹⁷ There is no form *égál*=Fr. *égaux*.

¹⁸ Cf. again, Beyer und Passy §18; also Passy, 'Les sons ...' §184 (2); also Passy, 'Étude sur les changements phonétiques,' §379.

¹⁹ Cf. again, Passy's 'Étude,' §259.

²⁰ Cf. for almost the opposite of this L. formaticum=Fr. *fromage*, Suchier's 'Le Français et le Provençal,' p. 56, §24 of P. Monet's translation (Paris, 1891) or Grüber's 'Grundriss,' p. 589, §24; also cf. Passy's 'Étude,' §543.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
56 gâlèt	galette	gâlèt
57 gârd (f)	garde	gârd (m)
58 gârdé	garder	gârdé
59 glâs	glace	glâs
60 grâp	grappe	grâp†
61 graté	gratter	graté
62 grâv	grave	grâv
63 grimâs	grimace	grimâs
64 hâš ²¹	hache	hâš ¹²
65 hârdi ²²	hardi	hârdi ²²
66 hârd ²²	hardes	hârdes ²²
67 imâž	image	imâž
68 pâpâsiâž ²³	impatient	pâpâsiâž ²³
69 âstâlê	installier	âstâlê
70 žardâ ²⁴	jardin	žardâ ²⁴
71 lârž	large	lârž
72 lârm	larme	lârm
73 mäsô ²⁵	maçon	mäsô
74 mäl	mal	mäl
75 mârbr ¹⁶	marbre	mârbr ¹⁶
76 { mârhe and { mâršê	marcher	mâršê
77 măriâž	mariage	măriâž
78 märtô	marteau	märtô
79 mäsâk ¹⁶	massacre	mäsâk ¹⁶
80 ménâž	ménage	ménâž
81 mizarâb ¹⁸	miserable	mizarâb ¹⁸
82 mutârd	moutarde	mutârd
83 nâp	nappe	nâp
84 ôraž (f)	orage	ôraž (f)
85 pâkâž	pacage	pâkâž
86 pār	par	pâr
87 pârtir ²⁶	partir ²⁷	pârtir ²⁶
88 pâsiâš ²⁸	patience	pâsiâš ²⁸
89 plâs	place	plâs
90 prâtik	pratique	prâtik
91 kârkyé	quartier	kârtšê
92 râs	race	râs
93 (râv)	radis	(râv)
94 râm	rame	âvirô* (Fr. <i>aviron</i>)

²¹ The aspiration is slight, due here, perhaps, to imitative origin; elsewhere, I think mostly to educational influence.

† A form like Fr. *frapper* is not popular.

‡ mâ=Fr. *main* in the sense of Fr. *poignée* is more usual.

²² Cf. preceding note, no. 21.

²³ Cf. list 11, no. 26 and list 16, no. 5. This is the regular form in both of the Acadian dialects for Fr. forms beginning with *im*, *in*, denoting privation. The Fr. *-ent*, close observation assures me to be rather *â* than *â-*; in adverbial terminations corresponding to Fr. *-ment* I feel positive of it.

²⁴ Just as I have observed in Paris the distinction between Fr. *en* or *an* and *on* to be disappearing in favor of *on*; so in these two Acadian dialects I notice a parallel between *ô*, *â*, and *è* mostly in favor of *è*.

²⁵ Also this form=Fr. *ma-onnerie*.

²⁶ But *ž* pār while Cheticamp has *ž* pār.

²⁷ Cf. Prof. Squair's list 3, no. 48.

²⁸ See notes nos. 23 and 24.

|| A form like Fr. *radis* is not in use.

* M form like Fr. *rame* is not in use. To row to the shore=nâžê à têr=Fr. *nager à terre*.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
95 râvâž	ravage	râvâž
96 žrâgârd ³⁰	(je) regarde ^{*29}	žrâgârd
97 rôtârdé ³¹	retarder ³¹	rôtârdé ³¹
98 sâž	sage	sâž
99 spêktâk ¹⁸	spectacle	(not used)
100 târdé	tarder	târdé
101 trâs	trace	trâs
102 vâš	vache	vâš

"(2) (*a*, *â*, *à* in this list pronounced like *aw* in E. *saw*)."

The agreement of the vowel discussed in this list (with one exception, *bâtîmâž*=Fr. *bâtiment* being the form in both Carleton and Cheticamp) with that of the same words in the two Acadian dialects is perfect. Slight variations in other respects will be seen by the following comparison.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
1 i† â ³²	(il) <i>a</i>	i â ³²
2 âkâblé	accabler	âkâblé
3 âšâ ³²	achat	âšâ ³²
4 âmâsé	amasser	âmâsé
5 -âsiâš ³³	-ation	-âsiô ³⁴
6 âvôkâ	avocat	âvôkâ
7 bâ	bas	bâ
8 bâtimâš ³⁵	bâtiment	bâtîmâš ³⁵
9 brâ	bras	brâ
10 sâ	ça	sâ
11 kârñâ	cadenas ³⁶	kârñâ
12 kâré	carré	kâré
13 kârô	carréau	kârô
14 kârôs	carosso	kârôs
15 kâ	cas	kâ
16 kâsé	casser	kâsé

*²⁹ Prof. Squair's footnote: "I have however heard the *a* of *regarde* pronounced at Ste. Anne like *aw* in E. *saw*."

³⁰ The second sing. imperative is pronounced *ragârd*, Fr. *regarde*.

³¹ But *târ*=Fr. *tard*; see list 3, no. 68.

† For this conversational *i*-form, cf. Passy and Beyer, 'Das gesprochene Französisch,' p. 124, §91.

³² This is invariably the pronunciation of final *a* in the Acadian dialects and Prof. Squair's words point, without exception, to the same rule.

³³ In this dialect -âsiâž regularly=Fr. *ation*.

³⁴ The *ô* is so forcible as to make me doubtful if -âsiôñ be not a more faithful transcription.

‡ I was told by M. Napoléon Legendre that this (*bâtîmâž*) pronunciation was the one commonly heard in the country places about Quebec. I, myself, noted it at the Falls of Montmorency, nine miles from Quebec.

³⁵ *bâtîmâž* (cf. note 23) in these two Acadian dialects in regard to the rule which can be established, that dialect *â* regularly corresponds to Fr. *â*, Passy's *a* in *pas* and final Fr. *a*, is an exception, perhaps due to confusion with the *â* in *bat*=Fr. *battre*; nevertheless the verb form is *bâtîr*=Fr. *bâtir*.

³⁶ Cf. Prof. Squair's remark under *d*, and see note 119.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
17 šā	chat	šā
18 kōbā	combat	kōbā
19 kōdāné	condamner	kōdāné
20 krāšā	crachat	krāšā
21 dāné	damner	dāné
22 débā	débat	débā
23 déžā	déjà	déžā
24 délikā	délicat	délikāt
25 ābarā	embarras	ābarā
26 ātāsē	entasser	ātāsē
27 èstōmā	estomac	èstumā
28 étā	état	étā
29 frākā	fracas	frākā
30 gāñé	gagner	gāñé
31 gā ³⁷	gars	gā
32 gātó	gâteau	gātót
33 gâté	gâter	gâté
34 grā	gras	grā
35 ægrā	ingrat	ægrā
36 lā	lā	lā
37 fātiké* (Fr. <i>las</i> <i>fatigué</i>)	las	lasé†
38 māšē	mācher	māšē
39 māšwēr	māchoire ³⁸	māšwēr
40 mirā:k ³⁹ , ¹⁸ (:=long ā)	miracle	mirā:k (:=long ā)
41 pā	pas	pā
42 pāsē	passer	pāsē
43 pāté	pâté	pāté
44 pātīseri	pâtisserie	A form like this not used
45 plā	plat	plāt ⁴⁰
46 rāmāsē	ramasser	rāmāsē
47 rā ⁴¹	ras	A form like Fr. <i>ras</i> not used
48 { šèvé, Eng. ‘shave’, is popular rāzé	raser, ras	šèvé, E. ‘shave’ is also used rāzé
49 rā ⁴¹	rat	rā ⁴¹

³⁷ Fem. is gars=Fr. *garce*.

† kèk=“cake” is more popular.

* A form like Fr. *las* is not in use, also cf. list 3, no. 41.

³⁸ Cf. Prof. Squair's list 14, no. 31.

³⁹ In regard to the ā in this word, it is an exception in the two Acadian dialects where ā would be expected, for here in these two dialects certainly M. Napoléon Legendre's rule applies: “Devant *bl* et *cl*, il se prononce de la même manière” (that is, ā), etc. . . “il y a exception pour miracle,” p. 132, tome vi, *Mémoires et Comptes-Rendus de la Société Royale du Canada*, 1887. (Tome vi, Montréal, 1888).

⁴⁰ Cf. M. Legendre's remark in the work just cited (note 39). “le *t* se fait sonner à la fin de quelques mots,” etc., p. 134.

⁴¹ Passy in *Phonetische Studien* i, Band, s. 26, writes the *a* in Fr. *rat*: rā and the *a* in Fr. *ras*: ra; Beyer says the modern tendency in French seems to be to bring *a* and ā together. ‘Phonetik,’ p. 20 (Cöthen, 1888). Undoubtedly, as a rule, dialect ā corresponds to Fr. *ā*, *a* in pas and Fr. final *a*; while ā corresponds to the *a* in Fr. *patte*; Beyer's remarks, I think, will furnish a key for dialect variations from this rule.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
50 rāpā	repas	rāpā
51 sōldā	soldat	sōldā
52 trākā	tracas	trākā
53 vā žā vā ⁴²	va	vā žāvā ⁴²

“(3) (*a*, *ā* in this list pronounced like *au* in Fr. *chaud*).”

This is not the case in the words of the Cheticamp and Carleton dialects placed below with the Ste. Anne list for comparison. The vowel discussed is not that in Fr. *chaud*, but the same as the one in the preceding list (2), save that when in a final syllable and followed by a pronounced consonant, whether voiced or unvoiced, it is longer. Professor Squair in his N. B. below his original list says:

“There is a tendency to drawl the *a* or *ā* of many of these words, so that it comes to have almost the sound of *ou* in E. house.”

I noted this same peculiarity at the Falls of Montmorency, and even went so far as to characterize the sound as a diphthong. It is less noticeable in these two Acadian dialects. The following indicates the pronunciation of these words, which, besides the above difference in the *a* vowel sound, are pronounced in Carleton and Cheticamp as here indicated. The sign (:) = length.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
1 ā:z (f)	āge	ā:ž (m)
2 ā:m	āme	ā:m
3 ā:n	āne	ā:n
4 ā:b and ābr	arbre (first silent)	ā:b and ā:br
5 bā:z	base	A form like Fr. <i>base</i> is not in use
6 bā:s	basse	bā:s
7 bātā:r	bâtard	bātā:r

⁴² Beyer and Passy in ‘Das gesprochene Französisch’ give the popular forms žā vé and žā va, p. 136, note 4.

It seems to me *nearer* the mid-back-wide round as in Fr. *or* than the mid-back-narrow round as in Fr. *beau*. [Cf. Professor Chamberlain's article: “The Canadian French dialect of Granby,” MOD. LANG. NOTES, Jan. 1893, nos. 2, 3 and 4, p. 31: “Fr. *a*=o (sound of *o* in E. *nor* very nearly”).] However, in these two Acadian dialects, I do not think it is either, and should call it low-back-narrow round as in E. *fall*, *saw*. M. Paul Passy says in regard to this sound or rather what I suppose to be this sound:

“L'arrondissement extranormal des voyelles vélaires n'est pas rare... Il suffit de mal ouvrir la bouche en disant (v) (Fr. pas) pour qu'on puisse le prendre pour (o)... qui est la voyelle de l'anglais *saw* ‘scie.’”

‘Etude sur les changements Phonétiques,’ p. 136, §308.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
8 bāvâ:r	bavard	bāvâ:r
9 bāzâ:r	bazar	bāzâ:r
10 bizâ:r	bizarre	A like form not in use
11 blâmé	blâmer	blâmé
12 brākâ:r	brancard	brākâ:r
13 būvâ:r	buvard	būvâ:r
14 kādâ:v ⁴³	cadavre	kādâ:v
15 kâ:dr*	cadre (d=)	kâ:dr (cf. list 3, no. 30.)
16 kânâ:r	canard	kânâ:r
17 šâ:l	châle	šâ:l
18 šâ:r	char	kar (E. "car")
19 šârèt	chârette	šârèt
20 šâsi	chassis	šâsi
21 fôrzo†=Fr. <i>forgeron</i>	charron	fôzôrdošârèt†=Fr. <i>faiseur de charette</i>
22 šâtó	château	šâtó
23 klâ:s	classe	klâ:s
24 déklaré	déclarer	déklaré
25 dépâ:r	départ	dépâ:r
26 yâb ⁴⁴	diable	džâb ⁴⁴
27 dizgrâ:s ⁴⁵	disgrace	dizgrâ:s ⁴⁵
28 ékrâzé	écraser	ékrâzé
29 égâ:r	égard	égâ:r
30 âkâdré	encadrer	âkâdre (cf. no. 15)
31 épâ:r	épars	A like form not in use
32 êspâ:s (f)	espace	êspâ:s (f)
33 fâhé ⁴⁶	fâcher	fâhé ⁴⁶
34 grâ:s	grâce	grâ:s
35 hâzâ:r	hasard	hâzâ:r not very popular
36 â:r	hart	ôriô†=Fr. ?
37 æfâ:m	infâme	æfâ:m
38 žâ:r	jars	žâ:r
39 lâ:š	lâche	lâ:š

⁴³ Used much in the expression ž sli mial kâdâv=*je suis mal cadavre*, that is, *mal portant*.

* As noted before several times, the *r* in this position as in popular Fr. generally, is not heard. It is, however, here distinctly heard; cf. also no. 4.

⁴⁴ Cf. Pascal Poirier's remarks in tome iii, article on "La langue acadienne," beginning p. 63 of *Soirées Canadiennes*:

"Il y a aussi une différence notable entre la prononciation acadienne et la prononciation canadienne des lettres *gu, qu, di, tu*, suivies d'une voyelle."

At the Falls of Montmorency, I noted the forms gyâb=Fr. *diable*; gyô=Fr. *Dieu* and gyiâmæ=Fr. *diamant*. Carleton has respectively yâb, yô and yiamæ; Cheticamp džâb, džô and džiamæ. The treatment of Fr. *t* and *d* before front vowels in these dialects offers some of the prettiest subjects of research and explanation that the student of Romance philology can desire.

⁴⁵ Assimilation to the voiced *g*; cf. žvâl=Fr. *cheval*.

⁴⁶ The clue to the origin of this peculiar guttural aspirate, Professor Sheldon gives us on the last page of his "Specimens,"

† A form like Fr. *hart* is not in use.

† A form like Fr. "charron" is not in use.

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
40 lâ:r	lard	lâ:r
41 fatiké*	lasse	lasé*
42 mâ:l	mâle	mâ:l
43 mârdi	mardi (<i>s</i> silent)	mârdi
44 mâr:s	mars (<i>s</i> silent)	mâ:r
45 papâ	papa	papâ
46 pâ:k	paque	pâ:k
47 pârk	parc	pârk
48 i pâ:r†	(il) part	i pâ:r†
49 plâ:t	plâtre	plâ:t
50 pâ:t	pâte	pâ:t
51 plüpâ:r	plupart	plüpâ:r
52 kâ:r ⁴⁷	quart	kâ:r ⁴⁷
53 râklé	racler	râklé
54 râmâsé	ramasser	râmâsé
55 râ:p	râpe	râ:p
56 râ:r	rare	râ:r
57 râtó	râteau	râ:tó
58 râtlé†	râtelier†	râtlé
59 rægâ:r	regard	rægâ:r
60 rölâsé	relâcher	rölâsé
61 rônâ:r	renard	rônâ:r
62 rôtâ:r	retard	rôtâr
63 sâ:b	sable	sâb
64 Rišâ:r ⁴⁸	Richard	Rišâ:r ⁴⁸
65 sâ:b	sabre	sâ:b
66 tâ:š	tâche	tâ:š
67 tâsé	tâcher	tâsé
68 tâ:r	tard	tâ:r
69 tâ:s	tasse	tâ:s
70 tâté	tâter	tâté
71 vâ:z ⁴⁹	vase	vâ:z ⁴⁹

"(4) (*ai* in this list pronounced like è in French *très*)."

This statement applies also to the vowel of most of the Acadian words discussed; differences in this respect as well as possible differences in other respects between the three dialects being brought out by the comparison. It should be remarked, however, that in the Acadian words, the quantity of this sound is

* A form like Fr. *lasse* is not in use; cf. no. 37, list 2.

† Cf. the star (*) on p. 11, for the pronoun *i*; and for the vowel, list 1, no. 87.

⁴⁷ Cf. E. Morceau's remarks in *Soirées Canadiennes*, "Notre prononciation," tome i (pp. 243-8): "... et la même voyelle dans la même mot, placée différemment, ou pris dans un autre sens, n'a plus du tout le même son. Nous disons correctement un *quart d'heure*... et nous prononçons une *heure* trois *quarts*."

† Prof. Squair's note: "In the second sing. impera. of this verb the form *r. te* is often used." Also Carleton usage.

⁴⁸ This word I recorded at the Falls of Montmorency as having a diphthong in it, for the â sounded just like the diphthong in E. *shower*.

⁴⁹ Most commonly heard in the expression pâtošé dâlâvâz=Fr. *patanger dans la vase*; vâz=E. "flats." On the seaboard, the substitution of *vaz* for Fr. *boue* (not in use) is natural. I take Professor Squair's word, of course, to be E. "vase," also vâz in the Acadian dialects.

very short, like that in Passy's *ren*=French *renne*.⁵⁰

CARLETON.	STE. ANNE.	CHETICAMP.
1 afféblir	affaiblir	áfëbli ⁵¹
2 èg	aigle	èg
3 (sür) ⁵²	aigre	(sür) ⁵²
4 égwiy	aiguille	édžwiy ⁵³
5 èl	aile	èl
6 émé	aimer	émé
7 ôriné	araignée	ôrñé
8 bèsé	baïsser	bèsé
9 bødën ⁵⁴	bedaine	bødën ⁵⁴
10 kyès ⁵⁵	caisse	tšës ⁵⁵
11 kápitàn	capitaine	kápitàn
12 kòbinèzō	combinaison	kòbinèzō (not very popular)
13 fèb	faible	fèb
14 fôtèn	fontaine	fôtèn
15 frèz	fraise	frèz
16 grèn	graine	grèn
17 lèn	laine	lèn
18 lèsé	laisser	lèsé
19 mèg	maigre	mèg
20 mèzō	maison	mèzō
21 rèzō	raison	rèzō
22 rətrèt	retraite	rətrèt
23 sèzō	saison	sèzō
24 trèté	traïter	trèté

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"TO TAKE TIME BY THE FORE-LOCK."

THE very interesting paper "On the Source of the Italian and English Idioms meaning 'To take Time by the Forelock'" ('Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America,' viii, 303 ff.) suggests a few notes supplementing, in part, the collections of the author, Professor Matzke.¹

The passage from Politian which Professor Matzke quotes from the 'Vocabolario Universale Italiano' and which, as he says, has eluded all his attempts to verify it, may be found in the *rispetti* beginning "O trionfante

⁵⁰ Passy, 'Les sons du Français,' third edition (Paris 1892), p. 80, 90.

⁵¹ I have put on record a half dozen infinitives in *i* in this dialect; they are rare.

⁵² A form like that of Ste. Anne is not in popular use.

⁵³ Cf. Prof. Sheldon's "æn édžindž=Fr. une aiguille, no. 36, "Specimens."

⁵⁴ Means, however, in the popular speech a man with *em-bonpoint*.

⁵⁵ The remark in regard to Fr. *i* and *a* before front vowels in note 44 applies no less aptly to the treatment of Fr. *k* and *g* before front vowels.

¹ After this paper was in the hands of the editor, I received the 'Proceedings of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. for 1892,' from which it appears (p. lxxv) that, at the meeting at which Professor Matzke's paper was read, Dr. Pietsch referred to Cato and Professor Bright to Shakspeare ('Othello,' 'All's Well') and Tennyson ('To the Queen').

sopra ogni altra bella," st. 7. ('Poesie del magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici e di altri suoi Amici e Contemporanei,' Lond., 1801, ii, p.66).

"Il tempo fugge, e tu fuggir lo lassi,
Chè non ha il mondo la più cara cosa;
E se tu aspetti che il maggio trapassi,
Invan cercherai poi di cor'la rosa;
Quel che non si fa presto, mai poi fassi,
Or che tu puoi non istar più pensosa;
Piglia il tempo che fugge pel ciuffetto,
Prima che nasca qualche stran sospetto.'"

The note of Politian mentioned by Erasmus without a reference (Matzke, p. 323) forms cap. 49 of Politian's 'Miscellanea.'² The title is 'Contentio epigrammatum graeci Posidippi: et latini Ausoni super occasionis imagine: tum pulcherrima ephrasis graeci Callistrati.' The contents of the note are very much what Professor Matzke divined; but it is to be observed that Politian speaks of the epigram of Ausonius as well-known (*celebre*).³ At the end he refers to an oration of "Nicephorus" *de virgine Deipara*.

The oration of Nicephorus Gregoras *Εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου*⁴ has, perhaps, never been printed; but the same author's 'Byzantine History' contains a passage which, according to Boivin, is identical or almost identical in phraseology with the exordium of the oration. This passage is used to illustrate the remark ἅλλ' ἢ τοῦ χρόνου ταχίστη φορά βραδυτέρα πραγμάτων οὐκ οἶδε φιλεῖν, and runs as follows:

Ἐμοὶ γὰρ τῶν ζωγράφων ἐκείνους πολλὰ-
κίς ἐπῆει θανατῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀνδριαντο-
ποιῶν ὁπόσοι τῆς χρονικῆς περιόδου τὸ τάχος
μιμεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐθέλοντες ἄνδρα
ποιῶσιν ὅπισθ' ἀφ' αὐτῶν μὲν ὥς ἐπίπαν,
οὐ τὰν δ' ἀναφαλαντίαν, ἀλλὰ μέτωπον
προῦχόμενον λαύσιον καὶ κόμην ἐκείθεν
μαυρὰν καθεμμένον. Τάλλα γὰρ ὄντες ὁ-

² Sig. h. iii of the first edition (Florence, 1489). The Harvard College Library copy contains the interesting autograph inscription:

"Angelus Politianus Alexandro Sarto Bonoñ Suo. [dono dat. Monumtū & pignus amoris: mccccclxxxvi. Die. Maj. Bononiæ.] Ego Angelus Politianus: [Qñ vis Archetypus [illegible] nugas."

³ Machiavelli's "Capitolo dell'Occasione" ('Opere,' ed. 1550. pt. v, pp. 33, 34) beginning "Chi se' tu, che non pas dona a mortale," is a paraphrase of the epigram of Ausonius (cf. Villari, 'Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi Tempi,' 1882, iii, 177).

⁴ The title and the opening words (Ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν ζωγράφων πολλὰκίς ἐκείνους ἐπῆει θανατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν) are given by Boivin in the list of the works of Nicephorus prefixed to his edition of the 'Byzant. Hist.' (see 'Byzant. Hist. SS.,' vol. xx, sig. dij, Venice, 1792, or Migne, 'Patrol. Gr.,' cxlviii, 50).